

William W. Washburn
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GREAT AMERICAN QUESTION, 14.

DEMOCRACY vs. DOULOCRACY:

OR,

FREE SOIL, FREE LABOR, FREE MEN, & FREE SPEECH,

AGAINST THE

EXTENSION AND DOMINATION

OF THE

SLAVEHOLDING INTEREST.

A LETTER ADDRESSED TO EACH FREEMAN OF THE UNITED STATES, WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HIS DUTY AT THE APPROACHING ELECTION.

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“Have we not all one father? hath not one God created us? why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother?”—MALACHI.

“He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.”—MOSES.

“They traded the PERSONS OF MEN, and vessels of brass in thy [Tyre] market.”—EZEKIEL.

“The merchandise of [Babylon] wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and SLAVES, AND SOULS OF MEN.”—JOHN.

“He hath given the earth to the children of men.”—DAVID.

“Let him that STOLE STEAL NO MORE: but rather let him LABOR, working with HIS HANDS the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth.”—PAUL.

“The laborer is worthy of his hire.”—MESSIAH.

“Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto;” which, being freely translated, is, “Forasmuch as I am myself a MAN, I reckon nothing which affects or pertains to a HUMAN BEING foreign from; or uninteresting to me.”—TERENCE.

“We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men,” etc.—DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

“We, the People of the United States, in order to ESTABLISH JUSTICE, promote the GENERAL WELFARE, and secure the blessings of LIBERTY TO OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.”—PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE U. S.

“Be it ordained, by the United States in Congress assembled, that the said territory, for the purposes of—extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions, are erected; of fixing and establishing those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which for ever hereafter shall be formed in said territory, etc. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory,” etc.—ORDINANCE OF 1787.

“Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to my conscience, above all liberties.”—MILTON.

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PREFACE.

THE right of free discussion, as it is inalienable to man, is happily secured by Constitutional Law to every citizen of the United States. Of course, the use which is made of it ought to be at once decorous, and for the promotion of the private and the public welfare. With this object in view, and under a sense of this obligation, it is exercised upon the present occasion.

The Author of the brief and hasty hints contained in the following pages, upon a subject which might well command and occupy several volumes, conceives that he owes it to himself to state, that he does not view the GREAT QUESTION which is now pending before the independent freemen of our country, nor write in relation to it, as a partisan. He has ever believed, and acted in correspondence therewith, that *party* ought to be held in abeyance to *principle*: and this conviction does not diminish, but increase, by the progress of time, and by the acquisition of experience. His intimate and cherished friends have always been found, indifferently, in both of the two great parties of Democrats and Whigs, which have formerly divided our citizens; and even now, when these parties are rapidly undergoing the process of decomposition and dissolution, he numbers among their remains, notwithstanding they are still clinging to, and battling for, DOULOCRACY, individuals, not a few, who are objects of his esteem and regard, as well as in the swelling ranks of the redeemed, and renovated, and living DEMOCRACY of our age. "Principles, and not men;" and "men as the representatives, and in order to the success, of principles," have been, and still are, his governing maxims. So, he thinks, it ought to be with all. This the present crisis emphatically demands.

He also feels himself uninfluenced by any geographical prejudices, as far as he can know himself and his motives. He loves the UNION of these States, both as a great whole, and IN EACH of its particular constituent parts; of it he has been accustomed to form no disparaging estimate, and to augur great and glorious things for it in the future; and for its welfare and prosperity, he would deem it his honor and privilege to labor and pray. He, as a matter of course, is altogether uninfluenced by "the loaves and fishes" of political office. Selfish ends he does not seek to promote. He knows nothing of North, South, East, or West, which would influence him to take part with the wrong, or shrink from the maintenance of the right. Love, and not hate or indifference, requires that "we do not suffer sin upon our brother," but, by all means, reprove and counteract him in his pernicious ways. If any section of our land continues to prosper, or the integrity of the Union be preserved, and its existence and operations be blessed, it must be by the prevention of the extension of slavery to Territories now free of the evil; and by the marked rebuke, through the medium of the polls, of the spirit which would, at this day, set up the unhallowed and unconstitutional claim: for, by a different course of action, we should incur the wrath of God Almighty, from whom all national, as well as individual prosperity and happiness emanate.

This Question being now, in the providence of God, distinctly before the American People, so simplified, and so separated from every other issue as that he who runs may read, and he who reads may understand, viz.: "SHALL LIBERTY OR SLAVERY, DEMOCRACY OR DOULOCRACY, TRIUMPH IN REPUBLICAN AMERICA"? is about to be answered by every Freeman at the approaching election, according to the vote which he deposits in the ballot-box. And we much mistake the spirit and sense of our citizens, as well as their lively regard for Liberty, and jealousy of everything which would even seem to interfere with it, if they do not speak, in tones of thunder, in favor of the former, and against every aspirant after office, from the highest to the lowest, who is a professed Doulocrat. or who is uncommitted upon this Great Question, which overshadows and completely absorbs

every other topic of difference at present existing among us. This Patriotism expects and requires. "He that is not for us, is against us."

This Question merits serious, religious consideration. Prejudice, and party-spirit and aims ought to be dismissed, or else the verdict of the mind in relation to it will be erroneous. The character and the fruits of Doulocracy are to be tested in the light of the law of God, and of the experience of our country. In order to this, these pages may contribute something. Their aim is to enlighten, solemnize, elevate, and direct the minds of those, especially, who shall use the Elective Franchise at the coming election, as well as of any others into whose hands they may fall. They may hereafter be augmented to a much larger work, as was the original design, by the full discussion and illustration of their contents. But at present, all that is practicable, or that would be subservient to the specific end intended, is this synopsis, which the friend of Freedom may use as his *vade mecum*, or pocket-companion.

The author deems it proper also to state, that, in what he has written, he has endeavored not to be heedless of the language of Elihu, nor of the weighty instruction which it conveys to its readers: "Let me not, I pray you, accept any man's person; neither let me give flattering titles unto man. For I know not to give flattering titles; in so doing my Maker would soon take me away." He has likewise sought carefully to avoid the opposite of flattery, which is defamation. There are no special relations subsisting between him and Mr. Van Buren; neither have they held any correspondence upon the great topic which causes at present such an unusual commotion throughout our country. He has never been one of his active supporters; although he has always been compelled to hold him in high estimation, both as a Man, and as a Statesman. Viewing him now as raised up by the Supreme Ruler of nations, to perform an important service for his country, and his age, he has spoken of him, not only without panegyric or exaggeration, but much within the limits of what he conceives to be the truth: partly, because he judged it not to be necessary; and partly, because of a conviction that prolixity, as his time would not allow of it, would be unsuitable to the occasion and its exigencies. And with regard to the other distinguished candidates, he would not desire to pluck a laurel from their brows. But, however worthy they may be as men, and in their own place, they are not fit for the Presidency, in this critical juncture of our national affairs.

Farther, and finally, he would state, that, in thus undertaking to show his opinion upon this the greatest Question of our history, since we became a nation, he has had prominently in view the promotion of the glory of his God, and the good of his fellow-men—especially of the American People. For his mind is deeply impressed with the conviction, that upon the decision of this Great Question in such a manner as to prevent the extension of slavery, our future prosperity, peace, happiness, and honor, if not our very existence as a united people, depend. Thus believing, he has spoken. And his earnest desire is to contribute something which may induce Freemen, of all parties, so to forget, at least for the moment, their personalities, prejudices, and minor, although they may regard them important, differences, as to stand up, and act unitedly, shoulder to shoulder, for their country and freedom, in this the hour of their peril. When the house is on fire, it is no time to contend about culinary matters; or about the manner in which the duties of the domestic economy were formerly discharged, or shall be discharged in the future; or about the persons of men, or the views which they may have entertained of these. The action then demanded is, the joint efforts of all for the extinction of the flames. This being accomplished, subordinate matters may be adjusted afterwards. The application of this will be obvious to all. And with these observations, he cheerfully commits the work to the blessing of God, and to the unbiassed attention of American Citizens.

Cincinnati, September 13, 1848.

THE
GREAT AMERICAN QUESTION.

DEAR SIR: Allow me, as your friend and fellow-citizen, with all freedom, and sincerity, and earnestness, to confer with you in relation to the momentous issue now before the American People, and to your duty with regard to it at the approaching Presidential election. In doing so, under a sense of duty to God, to our country, to our age, and to our world, I shall, as one who must give account at that Judgment Seat from which there lies no appeal, and who has no personal feeling to gratify, nor selfish object to accomplish, studiously avoid speaking evil of any party or man; and endeavor to treat this grave Question, at once with brevity, and with the veracity, the dignity, and the solemnity, which are its own, and which it rightfully claims from all who consider or attempt to answer it.

You are already aware, and, I doubt not, that you cherish the feelings of a patriot upon the subject, that the greatest crisis in our national history has come upon us, which must be met by our citizens at the polls in the course of a few weeks; and which if met and decided in a manner worthy of freemen, will be the occasion of permanent and unutterable advantage to every section and interest of our beloved country, and, through her, to the world at large: but which if met and decided either with neutrality, or direct or indirect subserviency to the empire of Slavery, or Doulocracy, will entail upon our Republic, and her Territories, a lasting and deep curse and disgrace; as well as do much to realize the fears of the friends, and the wishes of the enemies, of free government, and of our happy and distinguished nation, to the extremities of our globe. Your influence and your vote, at such a time, may save or destroy. Give them cheerfully, I conjure you, irrespective of the trammels of party, as a Man, a Freeman, and a Christian, according to the dictates of the law of Nature, of Humanity, of the Constitution, and of the God of Nations.

As to how this crisis has reached us, you need not, I am persuaded, to be informed. It is generally admitted that it has been hastened and matured by the zeal and aggression of our Southern brethren, who have recently become distinguished as the propagandists of slavery, by the power, and under the banner of the government, of Republican America. Here all may concur, according to my judgment, whatever may be their views of the old

parties which are now dissolved, or of the measures of the present or past administrations. Vast territories are annexed to the empire, as the result of negotiation with Great Britain, and of the war with Mexico. Oregon has been always free. The others come to us free of slavery—even the Popish and unenlightened government of Mexico, having, in accordance with the spirit of the age, abolished it a considerable time before their cession. Over these extended and free domains our doulocrats would have the General Government to extend the empire of slavery; or at least to take the ground, that the ordinance of 1787, excluding slavery from the North-Western territory, was unconstitutional, and to do nothing toward its prohibition from our possessions along the shores of the Pacific. The claim arouses the nation; and the exciting question is now to be decided at the polls. Doulocracy,* under which this land has too long been injured and

* The term Doulocracy signifies, *the government of servants*, or, as the South, and the apologists of slavery translate the word *δουλος*, of slaves. It is composed, as the learned reader is aware, of *δουλος*, a servant or slave, and *κρατεω*, to govern. It is most directly opposed to Democracy, which signifies, *the government of the people*, and is compounded of *δημος*, the people, and *κρατεω*, to govern. The former is not found in our English dictionaries, because, until lately, and in our own free country, no people ever professed, or were willing, to be under the government of slaves, properly so denominated; and, therefore, there was no use for the word. It will be seen, however, from this, that it is as pure English as the latter, and as directly derived from the Greek language, the common origin of both.

Our national government is democratic—a Representative Democracy. Of this, slavery is the direct and inexorable antagonist. For it would be as easy to conceive, and as proper to speak, of *white black*, or of *holy sin*, as of *democratic slavery*! They cannot both long co-exist upon the same soil; but the one must conquer and annihilate the other. It was merely tolerated within the States where it existed, as a domestic institution, and the foreign traffic in it forever abolished, under the penalties of piracy, from and after the year 1808, under the notion of a hereditary evil entailed upon those involved in it by past generations, who had very erroneous conceptions of the principles of civil and religious liberty, and by the British government, which it was evidently expected by our worthy fathers would soon die out or be abolished, through the progress of society, and the influence of our free institutions, when the Constitution of the United States was adopted, and in that very remarkable instrument. Contrary to this just and enlightened expectation, however, this sore evil has been rapidly on the increase ever since that day, in the Southern section of the Union, while the States lying North of "Mason and Dixon's line" have spontaneously abolished it; and the slaveholders, or doulocrats, although but a small fraction of the population, have governed the country, by the tame and shameful acquiescence and connivance of the Free States, and have actually furnished our Presidents, all but twelve years, up from the foundation of the Federal Government; and they now, having grown insolent and audacious by the power which they have been thus allowed, not from their own special merits, but exclusively from the sufferance of their brethren, seem disposed to claim this as a matter of right, and to make submission to their will, in this respect, an indispensable condition of the continuance of the Union. Hence the nomination of Cass and Taylor at her dictation, by the late National Conventions of Baltimore and Philadelphia, on the avowed ground of "AVAILABILITY" or expediency alone; because the South would vote for no candidate who was not bound to slavery, either by his own pledge, as the former, or by the guarantee furnished by his residence within her geographical boundaries, the infected district, and his being personally deeply involved in the sin and misery of practical slave-holding, as the latter. Opposed to this stand Van Buren and Adams, the nominees of Freedom. Old parties and issues are now

disgraced,—*that is, the government of servants or slaves*,—the 250,000 slaveholders being governed, through the medium of their fears, their avarice, and their ambition, by their slaves, and they controlling the Republic by the influence of party-spirit, and by threats of secession from the Union if they should not be allowed to rule,—had so impregnated the old parties of Whigs and Democrats, and was so politic and overbearing, that she dictated her own terms to the Baltimore and Philadelphia Conventions; and had nominated, as candidates for the Presidency, in the persons of Generals Cass and Taylor, such as would undoubtedly give the whole influence of their high office in favor of the views and the interests of the Doulocrats. Justly indignant at this, the freemen of our land, nobly bursting the bonds of faction, and determined to sink or swim in the Ark of Liberty, and on the side of the Constitution, and the acts of our fathers under it, assembled in that ever-memorable convention at Buffalo; and united, as one man, and with religious and enlightened enthusiasm, in nominating for your suffrage, two distinguished civilians, Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams, as the representatives of Liberty and Freemen, in opposition to the modern pretensions and the insufferable aggressions of Doulocracy and Doulocrats. These candidates, planted upon a platform of principles which commends itself to the cordial approbation of every intelligent citizen, stand fully and publicly pledged to employ the influence of their stations, if elected, against the extension of slavery; while leaving it as it exists in several States, to be regulated by themselves, as long as they may find themselves able to bear its crushing weight, and its blighting calamity. This is noble ground. The men who have, in existing circumstances, assumed it, are moral heroes. You, my friend, will cordially sustain them. The unfurling of the banner of a regenerated Democracy, is hailed by our citizens with peculiar delight, who amazingly rally around it. The old

out of the question. Liberty and Slavery, or Democracy and Doulocracy, are really the only combatants, and must continue to be so until the question is finally decided which of them shall reign on this continent. Every man among us is, therefore, either a democrat, discharging nobly the duties of a freeman under the banner of Van Buren and Adams, in this campaign, or a doulocrat, doing service ignobly under the banner of Cass or Taylor. There is truly no other alternative. This invests the contest with peculiar importance, dignity and grandeur. And as, perhaps, there never was a case in which *names* were more emphatically *things*, it appears to me that it would eminently prevent confusion, simplify, and set the only issue now before the public mind in a clear and impressive light, as well as secure other fair and decided advantages to the cause of consistent Liberty and her rapidly swelling hosts, if the only parties at present existing were habitually designated by the friends of Free Soil, as Democrats and Doulocrats. And the state of the question being actually as it is here represented, it is desirable that the whole North would speedily wheel round into the lines of Freedom,—which it is also most reasonable to expect that she will,—for her own honor, the good of the whole country in general, and particularly for the salvation of the South herself.

parties are shattered, as if smitten by "the little stone cut out of the mountain without hands."

The merits of slavery and doulocracy being now fully and fairly before the public, and the view taken of them being calculated potentially to influence the decision of the GREAT QUESTION OF THE AGE at the polls, let me say a few words to you about these, as they are discovered when tested by every sound, political, moral and religious standard. What is the character of that thing which our Southern friends, and Cass and Taylor, with their partisans in the Free States,—if indeed they have many, or any, here at the election, considering the detestable ground which they occupy, and the insult which is offered to every Northern man in asking for them his vote,—would have you and me to extend over territories which are now free of it? Is it good, or useful, or becoming, or tolerable at all in the light of the nineteenth century, and in a land so favored by God with light, with free institutions, and with unexampled prosperity, and so proud and jealous of her liberties? And here we must glance at general principles and facts, which the mind may reflect upon, and reason out at leisure; for I have not time to argue them, were it necessary, which is happily not the case, nor have you to read anything prolix, on an occasion of high and laudable excitement, when freemen are called to prompt and decisive action. I ask you then attentively to consider,

THE SINFULNESS OF SLAVERY; WHICH, IN ORDER TO PREVENT MISAPPREHENSION, I DEFINE TO BE, THE HOLDING OF UN-OFFENDING MEN IN INVOLUNTARY BONDAGE.

It is diametrically at war with the UNITY OF THE ORIGIN of the human race. You believe, I presume, that all mankind have descended from a single pair. This is most orthodox. Adam and Eve were the progenitors "of all living." To them the commandment was given by the Creator, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth." "Have we not all one Father?" "God hath made of ONE BLOOD all the nations of men, for to dwell upon all the face of the earth." To these oracles, both of the Old and the New Testaments, enlightened Philosophy adds her consistent testimony. All human beings have the same physical, intellectual and moral constitutions. The enslaved and the enslaver are radically here alike. The differences are only of degrees and circumstances. This lays the foundation for mutual sympathy; and for the discharge of the offices of righteousness, kindness and love, among men of every nation and description. With all this, you know, slavery is irreconcilably at war. She first brutifies the man, and then affirms for her justification, that he is of a race inferior to that of those who have degraded and enslaved him.* And it is this brutal system which unblushingly

* The tone of the doulocrats, whether in the Free or Slave States, upon the subject of slavery, has, of late years, become much more in favor of it than it formerly

asks our government to propagate it in its territories, which are at present free of its unhallowed foot, and of its poisonous and polluting influence! You will not, by your vote, elevate a man to office who is not distinctly pledged to limit this evil, and to rebuke this pretension. You, a Northern Freeman, surely cannot.

It is at war with THE IMAGE OF GOD in which man was created. It is this, and not the mere killing, or taking away of the animal life, of a human being, which makes murder a capital crime in the sight of Heaven. "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man." This mysterious being, this microcosm, who stands in a close relation to all existence, whether above or beneath him in its extended scale; in his inferior nature, to the inanimate, the animate and the irrational creation, and in his superior nature, to angels, and to God himself, is indeed fallen into ruin by his sin; but still the wreck is noble. He is placed under a dispensation of grace by Jesus Christ our Lord; and for him God has a special care. And although he were a Cain, ill shall pursue those who do him wrong. It is this being, however, in which slavery trades as a chattel! You will, by your vote, do all in your power to arrest this.

It is at war with the LAW OF NATURE. No man is born a slave or a slaveholder, a δουλος or a doulocrat. Such unnatural and false relations only exist, by might usurping the prerogatives of right. Every man is born free of every other being but God. Hence, he has a right to dispose of himself, and his talents, and his movements, while his deportment is good, under accountability to God alone. With every attribute of this freedom, and with every line of the law of nature, slavery is irreconcilably at war. And it is this which asks, or commands freemen to

was; instead of diminishing by the progress of light and liberty. As a specimen of this, I cite the following from the 1136th page of the 1st Volume of the 4th Series of "American Archives," which gives an account of the proceedings, in 1775, of the "Darien Committee," whose object was to put an end to the foreign and domestic slave trade in the colony of Georgia:

"We, therefore, the representatives of the extensive district of Darien, in the colony of Georgia, having now assembled in Congress, by authority and free choice of the inhabitants of the said district, now freed from their fetters, do resolve—

"To show the world that we are not influenced by any contracted or interested motives, but a general philanthropy for all mankind, of whatever climate, language or complexion, we hereby declare our disapprobation and abhorrence of the unnatural practice of slavery in America—however the uncultivated state of our country, or other specious arguments, may plead for it—a practice founded in injustice and cruelty, and highly dangerous to our liberties, as well as lives, debasing part of our fellow-creatures below men, and corrupting the virtue and morals of the rest, and as laying the basis of that liberty we contend for (and which we pray the Almighty to continue to the latest posterity) upon a very wrong foundation. We, therefore, resolve at all times to use our utmost endeavors for the manumission of our slaves in this colony, upon the most safe and equitable footing for the masters and themselves."

extend its dark domain, commensurate with the expanding wings of the American Eagle! You, my friend, will unhesitatingly and firmly say, NO. See that, by your vote, you contribute your influence to humble its towering, black, unnatural and hideous crest.

It is at war with the WRITTEN LAW OF GOD. This, the Holy Bible, discovers to man his proper rank in the scale of being, with his relations and duties toward his God, and his fellow-creatures. It is the Magna Charta of the rights and liberties of the human race, over all the nations of the earth, as well as of the immunities and privileges of "the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus." It is not more opposed to sin than to slavery. It is not less a fountain of liberty than of light. It is the grand instrumentality, provided by God, for the emancipation of the race from ignorance, and from social and political bondage. Shame on those lips which, in the name of Christianity and its Holy Ministry, have ever, for any consideration, attempted to vindicate or palliate slavery from the Book of God! Posterity will justly hold this in the deepest abhorrence. As well charge darkness upon the cloudless, meridian sun! Slavery sanctioned by, or consistent with, the Scriptures! How monstrous the allegation! But no. Their contemplated, just application, as none can rationally deny, will give liberty and happiness to all people and nations. They condemn and denounce the system of slavery, as a whole, and each of its constituent elements. It is radically at variance with every duty which they enjoin, and with every delineation which they give of what is well-pleasing in the sight of God; of true religion; and of the glory of the latter days, when Christianity shall have taken her full effect upon the heart and upon society. It is no creation or institution of God, but solely the child of human cupidity, depravity and abuse of power. The prevalence of the Written Law will eradicate it from our world. For it is the genius and design of the Kingdom of Christ to root out, and "pluck up every plant which our Heavenly Father hath not planted." The face of God is set against it: and it were altogether unworthy of him, and inconsistent with the mode of his revelations, to be more explicit against this parent sin, in the Sacred Oracles. And it is this child of perdition which seeks that you, a freeman, shall extend it, or at least wink at its growing influence, and rapid strides toward the shores of the Pacific Ocean! You will teach it another, and a very salutary lesson, by your vote, at the approaching election.

It is at war with the GRANT OF THE EARTH given by Jehovah to the children of men. Consult here, as evidence of this, Gen. i, 26-30, which my limits will not allow me to transcribe into this communication. You will clearly perceive from this, that the

grant was made by the Possessor of heaven and earth, not to a *class or caste*, but to *Man, as man*; which generic term includes the whole human race. Earth was given to MAN, and not to doulocrats or despots, as the place of his abode; as the empire over which he exercises his nobler powers, in the government of the inferior creatures; and as the theatre of his action, where he sows to reap, both now and forever, according as he occupies his talents, and meets his responsibilities. This grant, however, necessarily presupposes, as well as its acceptance, and the exercise of the rights which it confers, on the part of the recipient, that he is not a SLAVE, but a FREEMAN, having the entire control of his own movements, under responsibility to God, and in conformity with the requisitions of wholesome law. All this slavery reverses. The doulocrats would take possession of our territories, with their long and black retinue of human chattels! They presume to ask our free Republic to aid, or at least to let them alone, in doing this! For this they solicit your vote. This is the very point now to be decided by you, as far as your act can go. Keep it distinctly before you, and separate from it all extraneous and minor questions. You will then fire your Republican bullet, the ballot, against the extension of "the accursed thing," and in favor of FREE SOIL.

It is at war with the LAW OF JUSTICE OR RIGHTEOUSNESS. This requires that we should "render to every man his due." It is, you are persuaded, I trust, perpetually binding upon all men and communities. By it all are commanded, under the sanction of the blessing or the curse of the Almighty, to do nothing but what is right to the person—the property—the character—the reputation—and the prosperity and happiness of their fellow-man. But this law slavery entirely subverts. It robs the slave of himself—of his property; for it takes himself, and his time, and his labors, without his consent, and without any proper equivalent—of his character; for it sinks him to a level with the beasts of the field, or any other property of the slaveholder—of his reputation; for he is affirmed to be so inferior as that he deserves no better treatment, and is prone to esteem himself, and to be taken by others, as being no more worthy than the law of the State pronounces him to be—and of all his prosperity and his manly happiness. And shall this "vine of Sodom" be planted, with your consent, under the ægis of the Republic, in California and New Mexico? The fact that you are a freeman, and worthy of the proud distinction and title, furnishes an ample guarantee that you will not; but, on the contrary, unhesitatingly rebuke, by your vote, the candidate who is favorable or indifferent to the extension of the area of doulocracy.

It is at war with the LAW OF BENEVOLENCE. This law is, that we shall love our neighbor as ourselves. On this commandment,

with that requiring supreme love to God, we are assured by the best of expositors, Jesus Christ himself, "hang all the law and the prophets." And the apostle Paul reasons that, because "love worketh no ill to his neighbor; therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law." Now, how stands slavery in the light of this law of God, whether as it respects the person, the property, the character, the reputation, or the interests of the poor slave? Alas, the scene of moral turpitude and heartless villainy which here rises up, is most loathsome, shocking and heart-rending! How has such a system withstood the influence of civilization, liberty and Christianity, so long? Can it be that even doulocrats would desire that this, which they know to be such a dreadful evil, should be extended to the waters of the Pacific, or over another foot of the free soil of God's green earth, by the direct influence, or the connivance of our government? You will vote, my dear sir, so that this thing which, like the Devil, cannot love, shall not at least be propagated by your influence; and that any candidate who is either neutral or friendly toward it, shall have leave to stay at home, and not be allowed to occupy and dishonor "the White House."

It is at war with the LAW OF RECIPROCITY. That law is as follows: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets." Comment here is unnecessary. It is obvious that slavery, either in whole or in part, can never even apparently be reconciled with this law. Would the slaveholder or his apologist be willing that his slaves should do to his reputation, character, property, person, or welfare and happiness, even as he does to them? "This is wickedness." And shall we, by our apathy or our action, extend such an immoral relation, and such an unnatural and accursed state of society over the territories of the Republic? Her free children will come up at this crisis to her rescue, and by their use of the Elective Franchise, at the coming election, prevent such a perversion of her principles and her powers; and do much to terminate her inconsistency, and to wipe away her reproach among the nations.

It is at war with the LAW OF HOLINESS, in general; but especially, with the INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE, which is to be between one man and one woman, who have a right thus to dispose of themselves, and to continue for life, except in cases of notorious infidelity, or such wilfull desertion as admits not of a remedy; and even then a divorce can only take place by the intervention of the competent public authority: in opposition to all polygamy, concubinage and uncleanness.

What has been already advanced in these pages, is sufficient to show that this is a most unholy system and practice. Upon this I need not, therefore, now directly insist. A sense of delicacy and

propriety, too, forbids that I should here enter into a particular exposure of the licentiousness of slavery. To him who has travelled through the Slave States of our Union, the copious "mixture of colors" which he everywhere meets, furnishes such convincing and melancholy proof of this as could not be supplied by volumes. Suffice it to say,—and this is what I ask you particularly and attentively to consider,—that there is not, neither can there be, any marriage among the slaves, according to the law of God. By the law of Slave States, they are not persons who may contract marriage, but only chattels, the property of their masters. No regular civil or ecclesiastical officer either could or would unite them in marriage. They elect 'squires of their own number to perform the ceremony, which is but a mockery of the Divine Ordinance. Then the cruel and wanton separations of those who are so united, and of parents and children! And yet their number has increased, since the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States, from 60,000 to 3,000,000 and upwards! What infernal pollution does all this infer! How often have the heart-strings of affection been torn up and rent assunder, of those sable children of Africa, during this rapid increase! And that the slaves have warm and spirited hearts most poignantly to feel the separation of their families, the fact that, in the city of Covington, Ky., this very season, a male and a female slave, with their children, being on their way from Virginia, under the whip of the slave-driver, to a more Southern market, where they would sell better, formed the desperate resolution, rather than be separated, to kill their children, and then to murder themselves, which they well-nigh accomplished, abundantly demonstrates. This system and traffic cannot be Christianized, nor made compatible with liberty. Attempts so to exhibit it, only succeed in "making vice pleasing, and damnation shine." It is high time that this mother of all abominations were arrested and rebuked. The South, as if by infatuation, has pressed the present issue upon us, and the freemen of the North will meet the Great Question, while adhering to all the compromises of the Constitution, in such a manner as to settle it in favor of freedom forever. Let your vote be only for those who have boldly declared themselves leaders to this result, and this glorious victory. **NO MORE SLAVE STATES; NO MORE SLAVE EXTENSION!** But look again, for a moment, at

THE INJURIOUSNESS OF SLAVERY.

This is in direct proportion to its sinfulness. "The wages of sin is death." The violation of the law of God most seriously injures all who are guilty of it, or who are affected by it, whether they be individuals or communities. Slavery is sinful, and therefore it is a curse. Here I might stop, but it may be well enough to consider the subject a little more in detail.

Slavery is injurious to the INDIVIDUAL, whether he be master or slave, who is unhappily a party to it. 1. To the soul; by cherishing evil passions, on the one hand; and by preventing proper intellectual development and spiritual culture, on the other, in the case of the master: and by almost entirely sinking and annihilating the man, in the case of the slave, so that he seems nearly a walking caricature of humanity. 2. To the body; by cherishing indolence, dependence, luxury and effeminacy, in the master; and by laziness, carelessness, apathy, filthiness, want of responsibility, and cruel treatment, in the case of the slave; as well as by the effects of the badly educated soul upon both; so as that the latter, in his lowest states, exhibits but a sorry and painful specimen of "the creature looking upwards," or of "the human face Divine." 3. To the usefulness and the happiness of both. This results from the relation itself, and from all its attributes, and accidents. 4. To the outward estate of both. This also grows out of the relation, and its circumstances. Unlawful possessions are not riches. The slaveholder is the worse for his slaves. A sound political economy discards the unblessed relation and commerce as a means of wealth, and brands it as a cause of poverty. As for the slave, work as he may, and live as long as he may, he never has any thing! He does not even own himself, nor his wife, nor his children! Why then should doulocrats ask our government, to extend such a withering evil to every interest of individual man? You, sir, will not be a party to such iniquity; but, by your vote, at once rebuke its perpetrators and their parasites.

It is injurious to SOCIETY. And here I ask you, 1. To examine and reflect seriously upon its unnaturalness, and the injury which it thus inflicts upon the social state, where it exists. Does it not put everything, more or less, into a false position? What is the great disturbing, counteracting and dividing influence in our country and government at the present day, and for a series of years past? Is it not slavery? 2. Its caste. How inconsistent with the true democratic idea of a model for the desirable state of society over the world; and with the simplicity of our free institutions, and domestic and social habits! Both the master who is fanned, and the slave who fans him are thereby degraded. Caste always injures society, but especially in a country like ours. 3. Its false relations, and the undue elevation of one class, and depression of the other. That these features prominently belong to it, cannot be doubted. And it is equally clear that they injure every department of society. Surely such a hideous system has already spread far enough on our continent. Let "NO FARTHER" be the watchword in the camp of freemen. 4. The obstacles which it presents to social progress. These are not accidental, but natural and essential to it. This, were it necessary, might be demonstrated. But you have only to compare the Slave

States with the Free States of our Confederacy, in order to be satisfied upon this point.* And I feel satisfied that, when the election arrives, you, my dear sir, will deposit your ballot in favor of the avowed and acknowledged standard-bearers of the friends of individual and social man. For this, you have a glorious opportunity.

It is injurious to HUMAN INDUSTRY. You will be satisfied of this, if you duly ponder the following facts: 1. It makes labor in a lawful calling, disreputable and unprofitable to those who are not bondmen; and makes comparisons humiliating to the free white laborer, between him and the slave.† This is most

* The following facts in the census of the United States will illustrate this, as well as the repulsion of the free white laborer, by slavery, from settling within its boundaries: In 1790, the free white population of the States of Maryland, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, was 1,160,015. In the same States in 1840, it was 2,200,234. Thus it appears that the increase in fifty years was 1,050,219, or less than double. In 1784, the North-Western Territory was ceded by Virginia. Its freedom from slavery was forever secured by the ordinance of 1787. In 1790, it contained only a very few inhabitants; and in 1840, the States which have been formed out of it, viz.: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, had a population of 2,895,383. These facts speak volumes. They are also a good index of the comparative prosperity of the Free and Slave States, in all other respects.

† The colonial history of Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and the other colonies, in 1774 and 1775, &c., abundantly demonstrates the degradation to which slavery subjects the free laborer, as well as his exclusion by it from places where it exists. At that time a general protest was entered against it, as "a social, moral and political evil," not only by the people in their popular assemblies, but by their legislative enactments. In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, Mr. Jefferson, the writer, says: "He (the King of Great Britain) has prostituted his prerogative for suppressing any legislative attempt to restrain this execrable traffic." And in the "American Archives," volume I., page 493, 4th series, the following extract is found: "June, 1774.—At a general meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of Prince George's County, Virginia, the following resolves were unanimously agreed to among others:

"Resolved, That the African trade is injurious to this colony, obstructs the population of it by freemen, prevents manufacturers and other useful emigrants from Europe from settling amongst us, and occasions an annual increase of the balance of trade against this colony."

Again, on page 600, is an account of a public meeting held at the court-house in the town of Alexandria, County of Fairfax, Virginia, July 18, 1774, over which GEORGE WASHINGTON presided, by which these resolutions were adopted, viz.:

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that, during our present difficulties and distress, no slaves ought to be imported into any of the British colonies on this continent; and we take this opportunity of declaring our most earnest wishes to see an entire stop forever put to such a wicked, cruel and unnatural trade.

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting that a solemn covenant and agreement should be entered into by all the colonies," &c. &c.

And in the same volume we find the following resolutions, pages 593 and 523, &c., of other similar meetings in Virginia:

"July 16, 1774, Surry county, Virginia:

"Resolved, That as the population of this colony, with freemen and useful manufacturers, is greatly obstructed by the importation of slaves and convict servants, we will not purchase any such slaves or servants hereafter to be imported."

"At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the county of Culpeper, in Virginia, assembled on due notice, at the court-house of the said county, on

paralysing to honest industry, and debasing to the individual and to the State. 2. It makes the master too proud to labor, and thus renders him comparatively useless to himself, and to society. 3. It renders the slave unskillful, listless, feeble, indolent, leasing, truculent and perfidious. For he feels that he is wronged, without any hope of being righted; and that he has no interest in his labors, but that the proceeds must go to pamper and enrich the man who has robbed him of his liberty. 4. It thus cuts the sinews of energy and enterprize. Of this the States where it exists contain the amplest, but no gratifying, evidence. And I am sure, sir, you will do all you can to keep an evil of such colossal magnitude, at least within its present boundaries. Remember, your chief influence lies in your vote.

It is injurious to SOUND MORALITY. This may easily be gathered from what has already been stated. It is not improper, however, to give it, in passing, a distinct consideration. And this is one of the weightiest charges which can be brought against it. It goes far, practically, to efface the Decalogue. The slaveholder usurps the place of God, in claiming and exercising the right of *property in man*. The slave is his obsequious and hypocritical follower and imitator, even apart from any coercion which he may employ. Look at this point in the light of the first table; and then with regard to the second, it is not hard to perceive that it virtually obliterates each of its precepts. It is one system of irreligion and immorality throughout. As we pity the parties to it, and the soil that is defiled by it, let us be sure that we employ our influence to prevent its farther extension. To the man who is favorable or indifferent to this, you, my friend, cannot, without sin, give your vote.

It is injurious to RELIGION AND THE CHURCH. It renders the moral soil very stony, weedy and barren, as well as "turns," in a literal sense, "fat land to barrenness." It darkens the understandings, and hardens and corrupts the hearts, of both master and slave. It defiles and sears the conscience. By it the will is made perverse and obstinate. It renders the judgment unsound. Light and education find in it a most formida-

Thursday, the 7th day of July, 1774, to consider of the most effectual method to preserve the rights and liberties of America:

"Resolved, That the importing of slaves and convict servants is injurious to this colony, as it obstructs the population of it with freemen and useful manufacturers; and that we will not buy any such slave or convict servant hereafter to be imported."

How, then, can any working man, or any other, in this enlightened age, be favorable to the extension of this blight upon population and industry, by the action or the permission of the General Government, to any portion of our territories; or vote for any candidate for office, as the question is now stated, although he were an "angel from heaven," who is not unequivocally pledged against it?

ble antagonist. The territory over which it broods is by it flooded with ungodliness. It creates an unhealthy moral atmosphere. If the Church do not tolerate it in her fellowship, she is frowned upon and persecuted by the doulocrats. Judge Lynch would soon silence the faithful Ambassador of the Cross. If she shakes hands with it, and baptizes it, she greatly offends her Lord; grieves the Holy Spirit; and forfeits the respect of the world: for there are no evils considered as great as slavery, by professedly ungodly men who reside within the Slave States. By fellowship with it, her character sinks as the light and the salt of the earth. It is the source of ecclesiastical schisms and sinful divisions. What Church in our land has not been shaken to its centre, or entirely rent, by its influence? It is, too, the great barrier to their re-union, and their cordial co-operation. And is it desirable that the empire of doulocracy should be extended? Your ballot, my friend, will effectively answer this question in the negative. It is the pest of Religion and the church of God, as well as of the civil commonwealth. But turn, for a little, to,

THE INEXCUSABLENESS AND INCONSISTENCY OF UPHOLDING SLAVERY, BY US AS A PEOPLE, IN VIEW OF OUR AGE, OUR PLACE, OUR DISTINGUISHED PRIVILEGES, OUR BOASTED PRINCIPLES, AND OUR HIGH PROFESSION OF BEING SET FOR THE EMANCIPATION AND THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE WORLD.

This is an age of light. We live in the land of liberty. Our privileges, whether civil or religious, are numerous and great. Our fathers have left us a fair inheritance to cultivate, and faithfully to transmit to posterity. Our stand against foreign tyranny and oppression, is just and noble. The principles and professions embodied in the case made out against the mother country—in the Declaration of Independence—and in the Constitution of our Republic—are high and commanding in their character. We wish to hold ourselves up as a model for the rest of the world. And shall we now, when the empire of despotism and slavery is everywhere breaking up, be found extending, or indifferent about the extension, of doulocracy, over the virgin soil of our own territories? It would be most culpably inexcusable and inconsistent. Think, my dear sir, upon these things, and they will constrain you to vote only for the candidates of Free Soil. You cannot do otherwise, as the case now stands, without sinning against your light, denying every principle of your professed political faith, sinking your own character as an American citizen, and justly exposing yourself to the ridicule and the reproach of the world. Your inexcusable and inconsistency would be known, and read, and condemned by all men. But again, take into consideration,

THE UNHALLOWED SPIRIT AND INTOLERABLE MOVEMENTS OF THE DOULOOCRATS.

These legitimately flow from a system which is calculated to beget and foster the worst passions of the human heart; and which puts both master and slave into an unnatural, improper, and immoral relation. There are, I cheerfully admit, arising from counteracting causes, honorable exceptions to this. Making all due allowances, however, your mind cannot fail to have been struck and pained with the exhibitions of their intolerance—their impatience of contradiction—their ebullitions of wrath—their wanton aggressions—their mobocratic spirit and practice, with which they have contaminated the land, and which threaten to overthrow the fabric of our liberties—their hostility to free discussion—their opposition to universal education—their tyrannical disposition and bearing—their devising of wars of conquest for the extension of the curse of slavery—their perpetual calculations of the price of our glorious Union, which is, most obviously, in their estimation, the maintenance and extension by it of slavery and doulocracy; and their threatening to dissolve it, if they are not allowed to rule, in all things connected with the General Government, the whole country—their fanaticism as the avowed propagandists of slavery, affirming its excellence and Divine origin as an institution, and that it is the “corner-stone of this Republic,” even in the Congress of these United States—their aristocratic character, influence and tendencies—and, on the whole, their many inconsistencies with the spirit, habits and interests of genuine Republicanism. Upon these things, and many others of a similar stamp, I need not insist, my dear sir, in addressing you. You know and appreciate them, I trust, already; and you will, when the South, as now, presses upon you the present issue, apply the proper corrective, by voting exclusively for those who are explicitly pledged to assert and maintain, in every constitutional way, the rights and the interests of Freedom. True patriotism and an enlightened self-respect alike demand it. Still farther, connect with this,

THE GUILT OF OUR COUNTRY, IN ALL ITS DEPARTMENTS, MORE OR LESS DIRECTLY, OF THE SIN OF SLAVERY, BEFORE THE SUPREME RULER OF THE UNIVERSE.

Nations, as well as individuals are accountable to God. His law is the rule of their conduct, and of his judgments in relation to them. This law slavery tramples in the dust. Who can calculate the amount of the guilt of the Slave States, in this particular? And are the Free States innocent? Are they not involved in this guilt? What connivance at, consenting to, and treating with lenity and approbation, such an enormous evil! What indifference to the wrongs of the poor slave; vindications of his oppressors; with insensibility to the claims of justice and mercy, the warnings and teachings of God, and

the reproach of other nations! What tameness and subserviency, in submitting to the insolence and aggression of doulocracy; in not rebuking and counteracting her schemes and efforts for the extension of her empire; and in using the Elective Franchise, through the influence of the spirit of party, in a manner perfidious to the North and to Freedom, for the elevation of her candidates, and the slaves of her interests and her dictation! Believe me, sir, we are all guilty, whether in or out of office, in this matter. But how unspeakably would our guilt be increased, if we did not, as the Question now stands, cast our influence and our votes, with decision, on the side of the declared friends, and the acknowledged standard-bearers of the hosts of Freedom! And what shall I say of the General Government? Is she not guilty? To some extent she is. This consists in a corrupt administration of her affairs. For although we have ground to glory in the noble stand which our country took in favor of liberty—in the Declaration of Independence—in the Ordinance of 1787, passed prior to the adoption of the present Constitution—in the Constitution itself, which does not establish slavery, and which clothed Congress with the power to abolish the traffic in human beings after the year 1808, and, from that date, to treat it, without the States, as piracy; we cannot but acknowledge her guilt, in her gradual but great departure from the spirit of her earlier administrations; in her omission of what she might constitutionally have done against slavery, and for the extension and application of her own principles of freedom, particularly in the District of Columbia; in the treatment, by Congress, for many years, of the sacred Right of Petition; and in her other faults in relation to this evil: and all this through the lethargy and the unfaithfulness of the freemen of the North, and the sleepless vigilance, the arrogant pretensions, and the strenuous exertions of the Southern doulocrats. It is surely high time that we should vindicate her true character, and wipe away her reproach. And what shall I here say of the Church? Would that I could affirm, that this ransomed and holy society is not guilty in the premises! But, alas, the reverse is the fact! By so much as she has had fellowship with slavery, or has countenanced it, or has not faithfully testified against it, and used her moral and spiritual power for breaking its yoke, is she guilty in the eye of the law, and in the sight of God. Verily, our guilt is weighty. But the year of redemption has come. Let us, sir, improve it, by voting only for those who are pledged as the friends of a real reformation. But let us advert a little to,

THE DIVINE JUDGMENTS IMPENDING OVER US, IF WE DO NOT SPEEDILY REPENT OF OUR PAST ERRORS, AND NOW SET OUR FACE AGAINST THE SIN OF SLAVERY.

Punishment necessarily follows guilt, under the moral government of God, if there be not genuine repentance and reformation. Nations do not exist, as such, in a future state, and therefore they must eat of the fruit of their doings in time. The law of Jehovah being made for "MEN-STEALERS," as well as "for murderers of fathers, and murderers of mothers," has the sanction of an appropriate penalty. "The Almighty has no attribute," says Jefferson, "which can take sides with us in such a contest"—referring to a supposed contest with insurgent slaves. God is just—he has threatened to punish heavily nations and individuals for such iniquities—he is true, and will execute his threatenings—he is almighty, and none can stand before him when he rises to pour out the vials of his wrath—and he has already laid waste the most powerful nations for this and similar iniquities. If Tyre, "the mart of nations," was made "a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea," it was because there were "traded in her market the persons of men," in common with the articles of lawful merchandise. When the Mystical Babylon falls for her iniquities, there are found in her, as articles of her guilty traffic, on a level with horses and wood, "slaves, and souls of men." Our day may soon come. "Then a great ransom could not deliver us." Let us repent, and turn unto the Lord, for he is merciful. "Now is the accepted time." In the present awakening, he is graciously and loudly pleading with this nation. Hear his voice. And deposit your vote, my worthy friend, as you would be a savior and a benefactor of your country, exclusively for candidates who are distinctly pledged against the extension of doulocracy, and on behalf of the interests of freedom. Still more: consider that,

SLAVERY IS A MORAL LEPROSY, OR PLAGUE, WHICH, IF IT BE NOT CURED, OR BE ALLOWED TO SPREAD, WILL, SOONER OR LATER, DESTROY THE BODY POLITIC.

This charge has been already substantiated; and it is but a small portion of the evidence which I have adduced. For I have chiefly been compelled to refer you to heads of argument, and leave it with yourself to fill up the outline. You have read the description of the plague of leprosy contained in the book of Leviticus.* Turn to it again. It is generally conceded that what it is to the body, sin is to the soul; or to the subject, whether it be individual or social. Trace the analogy. Slavery is a moral plague or leprosy. Resisting means of cure, and continuing to spread, it destroys the patient. The only hope is, therefore, in the prevention of its spread, which, if it be accomplished, it will turn to a LOCAL SCAB within the Slave States; and the body politic, by its recuperative energies, and

*Leviticus, chapters xiii. and xiv.

by proper appliances, will ultimately throw it off, and return to a healthy condition. We have seen that our country is far gone under this foul disease. Alarm has been taken by her friends, and she has been brought before the priest, the people. The first remedial step is, to employ proper means for the arrest of its progress. Will these be faithfully used? Will they be successful in preventing its spread? If so, all is well with the Republic: if otherwise, destruction is at the doors. It is here, sir, that you are called to act. Be sure that, as far as in you lies, by your vote, you prevent the extension of the leprosy of slavery. But let us here pause, for a moment, to contemplate,

THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS GREAT QUESTION OF OUR COUNTRY, AND OF THE AGE.

And who can fully estimate or describe its transcendent importance? If slavery be so exceeding sinful—if it be only dishonoring to God, and so injurious to every interest of the Church and the world—if it be so ineffably inexcusable and inconsistent for the American Republic, so blessed by God, and the exemplar and patroness of liberty to the ends of the earth, to give it her countenance; and the foulest blot upon our national escutcheon—if the spirit and movements of the propagandists of doulocracy, be so unhallowed and intolerable, whose obvious and avowed aim is, by the most unworthy means, to convert this nation into a great slave-holding and slave-extending empire, under the pretext of liberty, and under our own world-wide renowned stars and stripes—if we are groaning under such a weighty load of guilt before the Ruler of Nations, by our past conduct in relation to it—if, in consequence of this, the direst Divine Judgments be impending over our heads, and may fall upon us at any moment, provided that we do not “break off from our sins by righteousness, and our iniquities by showing mercy to the poor”—if it be a moral leprosy which, being allowed to spread, will assuredly destroy our liberties and our country—then the question of arresting at once its progress, is of the highest magnitude, and utterly absorbs and overshadows every other. But look at the importance to those territories washed by the Pacific ocean, and lying toward the setting sun, which are capable of being formed into fifteen States as large as Ohio, of excluding forever from them this curse of God, and bane to our otherwise happy country—to the Slave States themselves; by lowering their false pride; by teaching them what freemen can do when awakened in the cause of liberty; by directing their ambition to the culture of their soil, the working of their mines, the promotion of their commerce, the prosecution of the useful and ornamental arts, and the preparation of their slaves for freedom; and by ultimately delivering them from their present

disgrace and intolerable burden—to the Free States; in their increased self-respect; in their freedom from the usurpations and the insults of doulocracy; in the consciousness of having vindicated and exonerated our Federal Government from being in principle, or any longer in practice, guilty of the crime of slavery; in the returning peace and prosperity of the Union; and in the free and happy home which it will furnish for their enterprising youth, and for their surplus population—to Religion and the Church; in furnishing them with a fine and free theatre for pushing the conquests of the Captain of Salvation, and in checking and diminishing the cause of their corruption, the division of their forces, and their consequent debility—to the friends of universal and high education—to liberty and despotism throughout the world, by inspiring the one with joy and confidence, and the other with sorrow and dismay, when they hear of this great moral and bloodless revolution which the freemen of America achieved at the POLLS, IN NOVEMBER, EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-EIGHT—to the physical, intellectual and moral constitution and development of man—to all classes of men, whether free or bond, rich or poor, the natives of our country, or her adopted citizens: the shifty, inventive and enterprising Yankee; the honest and frugal German; the patient and persevering Hollander; the faithful Swiss; the vivacious Frenchman; the hardy and brave Welshman; the steady Englishman; the intelligent and cautious Scot; and the hospitable, irrepressible and determined Irishman, here finding employment for their hard hands in profitable labor, not rendered disreputable by the false maxims of doulocracy, and a home and asylum from the oppressions of the Old World—to the present and future ages—and to time and eternity. Honor yourself, my worthy friend, by speedily falling in with the irresistible movements of Freedom to secure such an important result.* The issue is one. And it is worth a life, to cast a vote which shall tell with certainty upon the election of the candidates of Free Soil. You will now be prepared to concur with me in the belief that,

THIS GREAT QUESTION IS NOT PRIVATE NOR SECTIONAL, BUT PUBLIC AND PATRIOTIC, IN ITS CHARACTER; AT LEAST AS FAR AS THE NORTH IS CONCERNED.

Set it down, as a fixed fact, in your mind, that to represent it otherwise is a device of the superficial or the designing—of the simpleton or the knave. Men are wont to say that the present movement is intended to array the North against the South; and that Mr. Van Buren is the cause of it, in order that he may

* It is the transcendent importance of this Question which compels me to take any active part in relation to it. Were it a party controversy, I should, as usual, keep silence.

revenge the neglect of the old Democratic Party to bring him out as a candidate for the Presidency, in 1844. But how preposterous! Why, Man, the causes of this movement are coeval with the birth of the Republic, and even with the existence of the eternal God himself. The obsolete order of the Past must thus come into collision with the reforming Present, in order that liberty and religion may triumph. The American Nation must have mighty throes in casting off a disease which has preyed upon her vitals for more than half a century; and which is coming to a crisis, has threatened to paralyze and disfigure her for life, or to terminate her existence altogether; in order that she may march with a constitution purged from foreign and pestiferous substances, with a brighter and prouder eye, a freer gait, and more gigantic strides, to improve her opening prospects, and to her glorious destiny. And if Martin Van Buren had the sense and sagacity, the philosophy, the principle, and the faith in democracy, to see this, and the courage to take his stand, amid lowering and portentous clouds, with the few friends of light, and right, and progress, for the promotion of freedom, and against doulocracy, he deserves, even apart from his other eminent qualifications, to be President of the United States. Liberty is here to achieve one of her most signal triumphs, in the successful assertion of the capacity of man for self-government, and the correction of those abuses, by moral weapons alone, which find their way into the Social and Civil State; and Van Buren and Adams are to lead her hosts. To the hastening of the issue various subordinate causes have, however, as usual, concurred.

Be persuaded, moreover, that by so much as any one succeeds in deceiving our citizens into the belief that this Question is private and sectional, and not public and patriotic, whether he intend it or not, his influence is inimical to liberty, and to our country.

Be assured farther, that this gossamer deception will not extensively take, nor last long even among those who may be, for the moment, its dupes. Before reflection and facts, it is dissipated as the darkness of night before the rising sun. The reaction, as it ought, will be tremendous.

Examine this Question as closely as you can, and you will unhesitatingly say, that the side of it taken by the free North, as it is right in itself, is emphatically AMERICAN,* and that our Southern brethren have an interest inferior to no other section of our country, in its decision against doulocracy. Like the drunkard who thinks that there is no heaven where there is no bran-

* This point of difference is worthy of being noted. The view which the North takes of the Question, is eminently comprehensive and national: that of the South, eminently factious and sectional.

dy, they conclude, from their vitiated habits, that slavery is essential to their interests. They need to be taught a different lesson. It rests like the night-mare upon the vitality and the energies of their States. We will not interfere with their sovereignty. In emancipating themselves from the evil of slaveholding, we shall fraternally render them every constitutional assistance.

The cause of liberty as involved in this Question, is living, holy, omnipotent, and must be gloriously victorious. God is in, and with it. It is reward enough for the patriot, to have any part in its maintenance and promotion. Our citizens, influenced by the love of country, and ennobled by a genuine philanthropy, will plant the banner of a purified democracy upon the defeated designs and the prostrated powers of a presuming doulocracy. You, sir, will be found in their number. There is then,

THE MOST SOLID BASIS OF HOPE THAT THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM, WHICH IS THAT OF OUR BELOVED COUNTRY, WILL COME OUT OF THE PRESENT ORDEAL AS GOLD SEVEN TIMES PURIFIED, AND CROWNED WITH THE LAURELS OF VICTORY.

By this hope we shall be saved. And it is found in the character of the respective combatants engaged in this moral contest, Democracy and Doulocracy, the one being resistless, but the other impotent—in the way the issue is forced upon the North by her Southern confederates, and the spirit with which she is prepared to meet it—in the design of God in erecting this empire of freedom, and in the care which he has ever taken of its interests—in our past history, and in the acknowledged fundamental principles of our Government—in the virtue and intelligence of our citizens—in the spirit of the age, which is in favor of universal freedom—in the facilities for the rapid transmission of light and truth, from one end of the continent to the other—in the dissolution of the old parties, which had become utterly effete and corrupt, and in the departure of the sceptre from the hands of political demagogues—in the revelations of prophecy respecting the ultimate prevalence of rational liberty and true religion, over all the nations—in this wonderful year, 1848, so pregnant with great and rapid revolutions, upon which learned and pious expositors have long since fixed as the time for the fulfillment of Divine predictions—in the signs of the times, which portend a better state of things, shortly to be introduced, among all individuals and communities of mankind—in the public opinion of the civilized world—and in God himself, all whose attributes and resources are with us in the struggle. You, my friend, will have a firm stand on the side of the children of light, of progress, and of hope. These things being so, we cannot regret that,

THE HOUR FOR DECISIVE ACTION IS COME.

We are told by Solomon, the wise monarch of Israel, that "to every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven." Nations, as well as other bodies have their times and seasons for change and reform. These are of God: but man is ordinarily instrumental in bringing them about, and for their improvement when they arrive. He is to sow in the Spring. An important crisis, not of our own seeking, has been precipitated upon us. Our arms have been crowned with success. As the result, large territories are acquired. Doulocracy insists that slavery shall be extended to them by the Federal Government, or at least that it shall not forbid it.* She casts about for fit representatives of this idea and demand, and finds them in the persons of GENERALS Cass and Taylor, as the nominees of the two parties who are bound to her car, for the office of President, and General Butler and Mr. Fillmore, for the office of Vice President. Against the former of these gentlemen I would say nothing; except that the indisputable fact that Lewis Cass has pledged himself to stand with the South on this Question, at once completely disqualifies him for receiving the vote of any individual in the Free States.† And with regard to the other, I should be glad to be informed of any one decided qualification he has for this high office, beyond his residence in the South; his being an extensive slaveholder; his prowess displayed in fighting the Indians and Mexicans; and his obstinate refusal to declare himself upon this Great Question; which may, I admit, have some sort of merit in it, inasmuch as all men may know, without asking, where he stands, in relation to it. He declares that there are bills, upon certain subjects, which, if passed by Congress, he would not, as President, veto. But he omits this, THE QUESTION of the day, no doubt designedly, and when asked

* This is a "new thing under the sun"! The nations have sunk low enough, but not so low as the South would have the American Republic to sink herself. No wonder the public mind is aroused and indignant!

† The ground taken by General Cass in his Nicholson letter is plausible and deceptive. Slavery cannot exist without being established by law, and he would have Congress to do nothing upon the subject. Hence, his partisans at the North say that he is as much opposed to slavery as any other, and that they go for "Cass and Free Soil;" while at the South they urge his election on the ground of his being decidedly with them upon this Question! The ground of this candidate, however, simply is, that the Ordinance of 1787 was unconstitutional; and that Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Van Buren, and even Polk himself, have, in violation of the constitution, endorsed the principle of it in their acts. Adhering to the Constitution, if President, he would be bound, according to his view, to veto any bill to the same effect. And in the meantime, slaveholders could take their property, which consists in human beings, to the Territories, and when received into the Union as States they might have slavery established. Is not the difference between his views, and those of the other Presidents whom I have mentioned, immense? He is all that the South could wish. To vote for him, would be to betray the North and Freedom.

if he included it, he categorically answers, "I DID NOT."* Zachary Taylor would give his life, for the privilege of vetoing the Wil-mot Proviso. This cannot be doubted. But then his claims to election are chiefly urged by his partisans at the North, who are the relics of the old Whig party, on the ground that he will not use the veto at all; while at the South they recommend him as the friend of slavery, and as one who will surely protect "the peculiar institution," and veto any bill for its exclusion from the territories. But this is most deceptive to the people, so far as respects the version among us, and unfair to the General. He does not say, nor intend any such thing. What he says is, that the veto has been used too often, and that he will go by the Constitution. But the Constitution makes provision for the exercise of the veto, in the cases contemplated, and if he goes by it, he will use it, just when he thinks it proper. And is it not an insult to the understandings of the friends of Free Soil, to take strong ground in favor of it, and then to urge them to vote for this extensive slaveholder, as is generally done by the demagogues and editors of the doulocratic party, of the Taylor School, in the Free States? Is it not presuming too far, as the Question now stands, to ask any Northern freeman to bestow his suffrage upon this trader in the persons of his fellow-beings? Neither of these candidates will take with a high-souled and free people. On the other hand, to the claims of the South, Democracy interposes her VETO. She stands upon the ground of law and precedent. She rejects, with indignation, both the candidates of the doulocrats. Old parties and issues being no more, the people, from all quarters, rush to her standard. She finds the men to represent her principles and spirit in the persons of Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams, who come up to the help of Freedom "against the mighty," and boldly espouse her cause; and, without ambiguity, pledge themselves against the extension of slavery. They are the MEN for the HOUR. As CIVILIANS, they have claims to the high offices for which they are candidates, which no GENERALS can, in ordinary circumstances, possess, who have devoted themselves to the acquisition of emolument and fame by the profession of the soldier, on the blood-stained plains, and amid the carnage of human beings. The precedent of elevating such to high civil offices, is of evil influence. But scrutinize, in contrast with these, the qualifications of the candidates of Freedom. VAN BUREN, the Man of the People—the experienced Statesman—the talented Sage—the moderate, wise and safe President—the idol of his Party, until he refused to consent to its prostitution of the National Government to the propagation of slavery—the

* It has been well said, I think by Pope, that "darkness is no less visible than light."

successful and faithful Leader—the old opponent of the Missouri Compromise—and the friend of Freedom: ADAMS, a noble scion of a noble stock—his grandfather a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the second President of the United States—his father “the Sage of Quincy,” the pure Patriot, the patron of the oppressed, and also President of the United States—himself a young man of high talent, of deep learning, and of tried devotion to the cause of liberty and his country’s weal: these are the men to regenerate our politics; and with them, while defeat would be glorious, the desired success is certain. They carry out the principles and the protests of genuine democracy, against the encroachments and claims of a bloated doulocracy. She proudly exults as they lead her hosts to victory. Standing upon the rock of truth, her big heart sympathises with man; her eye is directed to Heaven, whence cometh all her aid; and her loud voice animates her children to PRESS FORWARD. Freemen, forgetful of their former, and comparatively petty, differences, arrange themselves under her unfurled flag. The old parties crumble daily into a thousand atoms. The hour is momentous. The Great Question is to be settled now, and forever. In this hour you, sir, will be at your post, and deposit your vote for freedom. But it is now time that you should consider, more formally and specifically,

THE RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH AT PRESENT DEVOLVE UPON AMERICAN CITIZENS, IN RELATION TO THIS GREAT CRISIS.

From what has been exhibited, in the preceding pages, and it is but a small part of the reality, it evidently appears that interests the most weighty are, under God, entrusted to their management. These are precious talents committed into our hands; and for their proper use we are strictly accountable “to Him with whom we have to do.” The greatest and most favored Nation under the sun is to be saved from disgrace and ruin; great principles and rights are to be asserted and vindicated, as well as great wrongs redressed and terminated; and a future unwonted career of prosperity and honor is to be secured.*

As these interests are now disposed of, so will be our future history; and, in a very important sense, that of all the nations.

* The whole of the Free States are especially under the deepest responsibility. Their population are for liberty. There is not, perhaps, one in a thousand of them who would be willing to vote for a candidate whom he honestly believed to be for the extension of slavery. Hence, the method taken to secure votes for Cass and Taylor is, to assure the people that they are in favor of Free Soil. Nothing else would take. They need not be deceived. The Buffalo nominees alone represent that interest. And the plain English of all our remarks is, that our worthy citizens who are now opposing their real principles and interests, should speedily change their position, so as that the whole North, at the approaching election, may be a combined whole, in the cause of Freedom; which it is not improbable the South, so far as her people are for slavery, will then be, in the cause of Doulocracy. This will be worthy of their character and their patriotism.

If this crisis, which has been forced upon us, be properly met, it will prove to be our greatest blessing. The social body will thus throw off its load of disease, which has long enfeebled it, and would eventually destroy it, and again put forth the energies of renewed health and increased vigor. Liberty is now engaged in the most important moral conflict in which she has ever taken a part; and if she comes out of it with safety, with victory, and with *eclat*, all her future, anticipated triumphs may be regarded as certain. We act before many witnesses. The consequences of our conduct are infinite. As we sow now, so will be the future harvest.

In this great contest, each individual can do much for the right, prior to the election, and irrespective of his vote; or even of those who will not go to the polls at all. Whatever can properly be done, ought not to be omitted. Our responsibilities are commensurate with our ability and opportunities. Our youth may do much for the proper decision of this Great Question; and it is pleasing to know that they are so generally with us. The females of our land have a potential influence in shaping the destinies, and in forming the opinions, of society; they are happily on the side of righteousness in this case; and they will but give expression to their own intuitions and impulses, and act in their own amiable character, in going for "Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men, and Free Speech." In the opposite there is nothing which, to them, ought not to be revolting. Ministers of the gospel of Christ, learned men, the conductors of the press, politicians, poets, artists and orators, are here deeply responsible. The cause of freedom is worthy of their best powers, and its advocacy furnishes one of the noblest fields of action. But, after all, the greatest responsibility rests upon the honest masses.

ONE VOTE has often decided the greatest questions, both in the civil and ecclesiastical world. It may do so at the approaching election. And he who may, and will not, cast his vote, in such a cause as this, for freedom, which is one of the highest privileges, as well as the most honorable and efficient, of a freeman; or who casts it for any man who is doubtful upon the great issue, incurs a responsibility too weighty for the shoulders of a mortal. Freedom "expects every man to do his duty." Let all be at their posts. Let none say, "I am against the extension of slavery, but the decision of this Question does not depend upon me. I have no influence." You have influence. Each individual has much for good or evil. Often has "the poor wise man delivered, by his wisdom, the besieged city:" for "wisdom is better than weapons of war; but one sinner destroyeth much good." You are responsible for

your *one* vote. Covet, then, the honor of having its potent influence, in the righteous decision of this Momentous Question.

Freemen of America have now ten talents placed in their hands. Let them see that they prepare to render a good account of their stewardship. "To whomsoever much is given, of the same shall much be required." To treat liberty, in the hour of her need, with perfidy or indifference, would indicate that we were not worthy of enjoying her blessings. The Free North will not be guilty of the shameful treason.*

We are responsible to departed patriots, who "jeopardied their lives unto the death in the high places of the field," in the cause of liberty against oppression; who left us this fair inheritance to cultivate, preserve and transmit to those who shall come after us; and who now look down, as deeply interested spectators, upon the part which we act, in this great movement. Shame on us, if we desert or betray the cause, in defence of which they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors! We are responsible to all the living; for we act not merely for ourselves, but for our country and the world. We are responsible to the Supreme Ruler of Nations, who has endowed us with our great privileges; and who has now placed us in circumstances in which we may "play the men" for our country and our God. We are responsible to coming ages, and to those unborn millions who shall eat the fruit of our do-

* "We have all, at some time or other, realized the importance of a single vote. The following instances have fallen under my notice:

"*One vote* in the city of New-York returned a republican member to the Assembly, which made a majority in the Legislature of that State for Thomas Jefferson, and gave him the vote of New-York, without which he could not have been elected. The whole policy of the United States, during the Jefferson and Madison administration, a period of sixteen years, hung on that one vote.

"*One vote* elected Marcus Morton Governor of Massachusetts, in an aggregate popular vote of nearly 100,000.

"*One vote* elected William Allen in the Chilicothe district to Congress, in the year 1834, and *one vote* subsequently made him United States' Senator, for six years afterwards.

"The following case of the kind is still more remarkable: In 1830, Dan Stone, of this city, was a candidate for the State Legislature. Walking up Main street, on the morning of the election, he overtook an acquaintance going to the polls, who intended to vote the opposite ticket. Stone solicited his vote. 'We are old friends,' said he, 'and I know you will show a friend that mark of kindness.' Party spirit was then comparatively quiet. The voter replied 'Well, Dan, you are a pretty clever fellow; I don't care if I do.' That vote elected Stone, and gave a majority of one in the Legislature which made Thos. Ewing United States' Senator. Mr. Ewing's vote on the question of confirming the appointment of Martin Van Buren as Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain, enabled the Vice President to give the casting vote against it, and recalled Mr. Van Buren home. That recall made Mr. Van Buren first, Vice President, and then, President, and determined the general political policy of the country for four years.

"*One vote* accomplished all this.

"*One vote* sent James J. Farn to the Legislature, made him subsequently Senator, &c.

"Behold, the importance of a single vote!"—CIST.

ings, whether our influence be now cast for liberty or slavery, as we do in relation to the generations which have preceded us on the journey of time. The freeman wields a tremendous power. You, my friend, will not employ it to extend the empire of doulocracy, even a hair's breadth. You will form a different estimate of,

THE DUTIES WHICH AT PRESENT DEVOLVE UPON AMERICAN CITIZENS, IN RELATION TO THIS GREAT CRISIS.

The responsibility of our citizens being so great, the duties which they have to discharge, in this emergency, are obvious. Never was it more requisite that they should cherish a spirit of manly and free inquiry, both in relation to the principles and interests involved in this great issue, and the character and merits of the respective candidates for their suffrages. A powerful attempt is made, by interested partisans, to practise upon their unsuspecting credulity, and to make them the victims of the most gross deception. Let them be men in understanding. None can be imposed upon who do not wish it, and give their consent to it. The case is so plain, and the means of authentic information are so abundant, that every man may form a right judgment with respect to it, who can tell his own name. Let them boldly face the minions of fraud and the extension of doulocracy, distinctly giving them to understand, by their significant and searching interrogatories, that they are done with following implicitly the dictation of the leaders of party, and will be their hacks no longer; and putting them to shame and silence by incontrovertible facts, and their unsophisticated arguments. Is it said by doulocrats, whether of the Cass or Taylor camp, at the North, while those, at the South, say the opposite,* "We are all for Free Soil, and utterly opposed to the extension of slavery, but the best way to accomplish these objects is, going with all our might for the election of our candidate for the Presidency"? Look at them with scrutinising astonishment, and laugh at their hypocrisy, and abortive attempt to run away with your judgment. Be not angry with them, but composed and tranquil. Tell them that, by so much as you approve of their avowed ends, you scorn and reject the means which they recommend, as utterly opposed to their accomplishment. What! would you have us to believe that the best way to promote the cause of freedom, as the Question now stands, is to move heaven and earth to elect men who are chained to the car of doulocracy? Ask them when they became converted to the cause of Free

* I have not been able to lay my hand upon a paper published in the Slave States, in the interest of Cass or Taylor, which does not, most earnestly, advocate their election to the Presidency, chiefly on the ground that they will support slavery, and which does not represent every other consideration as of minor importance; while their allies among us ask our votes for them on the ground that they are the warm friends of Free Soil! Let the people take care of themselves.

Soil? If they reply, "We were always with it;" then call their attention to the general conduct of the Baltimore and Philadelphia Conventions; and particularly to the binding of Mr. Cass to the South, by the former, with his own consent, as the condition of his receiving its farcical nomination, and the laying on the table, by the latter, a resolution, after they had nominated a Southern planter and extensive slaveholder, by way of demonstrating their sincere devotion to the interests of freedom in this great contest, in favor of the Wilmot Proviso. Tell them you cannot be caught with such chaff, but will vote for the men who represent, beyond all doubt, your principles. If they persist in urging you to stultify yourself, and to prove recreant to liberty in her hour of need; and allege that "the Question is now settled by the act of Congress establishing a government for Oregon, by which slavery is forever and unconditionally excluded from it, so that there is nothing to be gained by the election of Van Buren and Adams now; that it is wrong to represent them as the only candidates of Free Soil; and that you ought to vote, now that the Question is satisfactorily settled, for one or the other of the regular nominations." Confront them by the inquiry, "How was it settled"? And point them to the clear evidence that that act of Congress, and its signature by a Southern and slaveholding President, was the result of the moral earthquake produced by the Buffalo Convention; and the first of the series of signal triumphs which await the genuine opponents of doulocracy, and the friends of the unconditional freedom of all our territories, until their candidates are inaugurated into the high offices to which they have been designated and destined, as peculiarly worthy to occupy*—that it places both houses of Congress and the President, in direct antagonism to the Baltimore and Philadelphia Conventions, their nominees and their partisans, by determining afresh the point in dispute at present, whether Congress has a right to exclude slavery from the territories, in favor of the maligned and persecuted friends of Free Soil—and that you will take special care that the profit of this first victory shall not enure to doulocrats or their representatives, but to those who, in the hour of your country's peril and darkness, boldly planted themselves in the breach, and said to slavery, "Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther: and here shall thy dark and accursed empire be stayed." Conceal not from them your exultation at this, the first fruits, nor your assured expectation of a glorious

* If the panic produced by the first roar of the Northern Lion, when roused from his lair, and the effect upon the security of freedom for our territories, were so great, what may be expected when he shall range in majesty, and utter his voice, at least throughout the whole of the Free States? "Coming events cast their shadows before."

harvest. If they reply to your objection to the Northern man because he holds Southern principles, which, as the issue is now made up, you consider as completely rendering him unworthy of the vote at least of any individual who resides on this side of "Mason and Dixon's line," that Martin Van Buren was once such himself. Confound and silence them by the truth, that circumstances are now changed, and that what might then have been just and expedient, is altogether indefensible and inadmissible now. Do they reply to your objection to the Southern man because he has no principles, that "the Taylor platform is, that the action of Congress ought not to be controlled and thwarted by the President; that, if elected, he will not exercise the monarchical power of the Veto; and that you ought to vote for him because he is a second Washington, and a very clever slaveholder; but to be sure to have representatives in the National Legislature in favor of excluding slavery from the territories, and, as he will let them do as they please, everything will thus, in the end, come right"? Tell them, with perfect good nature, that you are sure that General Taylor neither says, nor intends, any such thing as that he will, in no case, employ the veto; that if he did, he would not be for going according to the Constitution, which he does say will be strictly the rule of his administration, in the event of his election; and that, for yourself, you consider the provision made for the interposition of the Presidential veto, in the circumstances enumerated, as an excellent Republican check, and conservative power, which may, indeed, be abused by its indiscreet exercise; but that no fair argument can be drawn from its abuse, against its legitimate use—that it is clear that he would gladly exercise this power, were Congress to exclude slavery from the territories—that you can see no particular resemblance between Zachary Taylor and George Washington—that you could not consistently be in favor of him, and of a Congress opposed to him upon the Great Question of the Nation, and of the Age—that you are not in the habit of doing less important business in this way; and, as the only enlightened and safe course, you will vote for Van Buren and Adams—and that it is well known that the power and patronage of the President are so great, that Congress rarely seeks to pass a bill in opposition to his known views, and still more rarely succeeds in accomplishing it. Do the doulocrats, of either class, say, "Your cause is right, and nothing can prevent its success at the election succeeding this; but there is not now time enough to carry it through; and if you go with us now, we will go with you in 1852"? Reply, that there is time enough, if men will but worthily act out their deep and avowed convictions; and that, for one, as you have no lease of your life, and know not that you will have another

opportunity, you are determined to discharge your known duty in the present canvass. Do they impeach you as a deserter from their party, and endeavor to entangle you again in its meshes? Let them know that the old issues are now no longer before the people; and that their late National Conventions, with their own consenting to their deeds, dissolved the two great parties of Democrats and Whigs: the former by allowing colonel Commander to cast all the votes of South Carolina for Cass, without due authority, and by excluding all the votes of the freemen of New York, which would have been against him, contrary to the usages of the democratic party, in order to have a candidate who is avowedly with the South on this Great Question; so that not having the vote of two-thirds of that Convention, which according to its own rule was indispensable to a nomination, he is not, in fact, regularly before the people at all for their suffrages, and therefore no allegiance is due to them, nor support to him, but the contrary; and the latter, by the nomination of Taylor, through the adroit manœuvre of the Louisiana delegation, although he had declared he was unalterably a no-party candidate, and by their refusal to assert any of their formerly acknowledged principles: all which the *disjecta membra*, "the scattered fragments," of the Whigs continue to endorse by their perseverance in their adhesion to him, while he declares that he was, and is, and will continue to be, not the candidate of any party, but willing to receive a nomination from all the parties of the country!!! Yes, he would have been glad to have received the nomination of the Buffalo Convention, if it had not laid down the Platform of Freedom, and if he could have accepted it WITHOUT PRINCIPLE! This man evidently wants to be President, in order that he may do as he pleases. In a word, are you a Democrat or a Liberty man,* and do the douglocrats taunt you with apostacy from your former particular ground, as well as Martin Van Buren with alleged inconsistency between his past and his present position;† retort, with entire self-possession, that there has been no conversion of the one party by the other; but that, as old questions have died out, and as there is but one issue now before the country, you all

* The Author has never had any connection with the late Liberty party.

† There is, methinks, a wide difference between a President of the United States being willing to veto any bill which might seem to encourage a threatened and feared servile insurrection in the ancient home of slavery, and which would not touch the root of the evil; and his vetoing a bill for the extension of that leprosy to the territories which are now free of it, contrary to the whole theory and practice of the General Government, and passed upon the ground that the propagation of slavery is one of its legitimate powers. And the fact that President Van Buren was willing to do the former, in the circumstances which existed in 1837, but now declares that, if again elected, he will not do the latter, involves no manner of inconsistency whatsoever. The principle of both may be the same—love of country, and of her peace and prosperity.

have been compelled, rising superior to vulgar and factious prejudice, by the majesty of a great principle,* to assume your present attitude for the salvation of your country; and that it is broad and commanding enough for every patriot and freeman. And with regard to the charge of inconsistency, on the part of the masses who are now swelling the ranks of a renovated and living Democracy, and shouting the pæans of anticipated and certain victory; or on the part of their noble and heroic leaders, which is more in appearance than in reality, and is only a bugbear to intimidate children; tell those who would, by such vague allegations, disturb or change your present course, *tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur cum illis*; which, for the sake of those who do not understand Latin, I shall translate as follows, viz.: "The times are changed, and we are changed with them." The difference of the Questions pending then and now, and the mode of their proposition, explain and reconcile, in the case of every true man, the whole; and render it entirely harmonious. Pursue this course, and every candid man will be your convert.

Having thus demolished all the fortresses, set aside the subterfuges, and brushed away the fig-leaf covering of the wretched cause of the doulocrats, as well as kept your own entrenchments impregnable; you may fortify yourselves and your position still farther by impartially weighing the two systems of democracy and doulocracy in the balances of Reason, History and the word of God. Thus you will be fully satisfied, and be able to prove to others, that TEKEL only is to be written upon the latter.

Turn again, to the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the Ordinance of 1787, by which slavery was forever excluded by the General Government from the North-Western Territory;—those glorious charters of our liberties, which are vital and filled with the Genius of Universal Emancipation;—refer your opponents to them as fundamental law, in the premises; and cling to them, as to the Ark and the Palladium of your country's Republicanism, with the tenacity of death.

Clothed with this panoply, let all our citizens, who have a right to exercise this glorious privilege of freemen, make up their minds, immutably and at once, that they will vote at the

* So far from being dishonorable or ridiculous, the union of men of all parties for the good of their country, which has been begun, and is still in rapid progress, partakes largely of the moral sublime, and is one of the most cheering prognostications of the coming golden age of our world. Men are to unite as the latter-day glory approaches, and in order to its acceleration. "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them." &c. ISAIAH.

coming election: but not for any man who is doubtful upon the Great Question; or who has not explicitly declared himself uncompromisingly opposed to the extension of slavery, an inch, over territories which are now free of the evil; and in favor of freeing the General Government from ail responsibility and merited blame from its existence and its consequences: thus leaving it, while they desire it, or can bear up under the incubus, exclusively within those States which are at present afflicted by the sore calamity.

In the meantime, let light be unsparingly and universally diffused among the people. We have plenty of it. Our cause can only be injured by ignorance and prejudice. We have nothing to conceal. Our invitation is to all, "Come and see;" examine for yourselves; form your own independent judgments. All upon whom responsibility rests, ought, in their place, to discharge the full measure of their duty. The side of the Question which we take, unlike the other, gives inspiration, strength and eloquence.

Let there be magnanimous unions among men of all parties: rising, for their country, superior to the spirit and prejudices party, and bursting its decayed bonds, around a great, a holy, a living, an irresistible, and an omnipotent principle. Here all may rally. This is the position of usefulness, of honor, and of success. We confidently expect to find many of its bitterest opponents, among its warmest friends, before and at the election. When such weighty interests are at stake, cast, my countrymen, your petty differences and contentions "to the moles, and to the bats;" and come up, as one man, to the charge against doulocracy. You are, under God, the arbiters of the destiny of the Republic.

Thus equipped and prepared, when the ides of November arrive, proceed to the "polls, which are the battle ground," and fire your "ballots, which are the bullets of Republicans," at the monster of Slave Propagandism, as a power of our Federal Government, which is now set up by Doulocrats for the citizens of all sections of the land to worship; and yours will be a glorious and a bloodless victory.

Thus meeting the Question pressed upon you, by preventing the extension of this evil, vindicating our nation from shame and contempt, and asserting the rights of freedom and her children, commit your cause unto God, and to the Christian world. He will sustain and bless you: his deserved wrath shall be averted, and his rich blessing rest upon our beloved country. The patriots over all the earth will not only justify you, but clap their hands with joy in view of the result. And be assured, "the sober second thought" of the South herself, will yet honor your motives, and be grateful for the patriotism and the heroism

with which you met her OWN ISSUE. You, sir, will here not be found wanting. And this is the place to take a glance at,

THE MANNER IN WHICH THESE DUTIES, AT PRESENT DEVOLVING UPON EVERY AMERICAN CITIZEN, IN RELATION TO THIS GREAT CRISIS, OUGHT TO BE DISCHARGED.

The manner in which these high duties ought to be performed, is a matter of considerable importance. Anything additional, touching this, I would comprise in the following directions; being well assured that it is not necessary to do more than specify them, in addressing a people so competent to the discharge of the duties of freemen. Let all your movements be with promptitude—with alacrity—with vigilance—with unity—with vigor—with resolution—with moderation—with firmness—with equity and civility to opponents—with patriotism—with religious dependence upon God—with confidence in the rectitude of your cause—and with faith in its final and complete success. Be one—organize—work hard—persevere. Let the brave Northmen thus act in the present struggle of freedom against slavery, and when the day of decision arrives, Victory shall proudly perch upon their banners. You, sir, will lend your influence to this. And finally, be encouraged by a parting view of,

THE CERTAINTY OF SUCCESS, UPON THIS GREAT OCCASION.

And here, my dear sir, it would be pleasant to me, and might be entertaining and instructive to you, were it not that the hour demands diligent, prompt and efficient ACTION, to expatiate upon the certainty of our success as found in the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty itself, which we have the honor to advocate; which has hitherto made its way in defiance of the powers of earth, and the gates of hell, to its universal prevalence in the latter days, ever since Christianity was planted in our fallen world,—God himself being in it, and with it;—and which has stricken down, and will continue to strike down, the most formidable of its opponents—in the great fact that truth and righteousness, which are with us in this contest, shall infallibly prevail—in the times and the seasons of the moral world, when the thrones, and the diadems, and the empires of despotism are shaken and removed, and nations are born to liberty as in a day; and all whose changes are regulated by a Divine but Invisible Hand against the dominion of darkness and slavery, and on behalf of the empire of light and of life—in the resistless spirit for right and reform which has simultaneously been awakened on both sides of the ocean; and in its amazing and majestic progress hitherto in our own land—in the evident destiny of America, which is to be “the land of the free, and the home of the brave”—in the hold which everything pertaining to the rights of man, has upon the affections of our people, when fairly pre-

sented to their understandings—in the high character of our citizens for their intelligence, virtue and religion; and their indignation at wrong and deception, when they discover attempts, whether covert or open, to practise them either upon themselves or others—in the consternation and disintegration of the old parties—in the seeds of an inevitable and speedy mortality which are sown in the constitution of doulocracy—in the predicted universality of the kingdom of Christ; “the little stone cut out of the mountain without hands,” which, smiting, and making “like the chaff of the summer-threshing floor,” the mountains of despotism, and slavery, and irreligion, “becomes a great mountain, and fills the whole earth”—and in the character and administration of Messiah our King, who, as he is himself most righteous, “will judge the poor of the people, and shall save the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor.” But I must forbear, and leave you to your own reflections upon these matters; asking you only to contemplate with this,

THE RESULTS OF SUCCESS, UPON THIS GREAT OCCASION.

And what created mind can enumerate, or estimate, or describe the blessed results of this, our certain success? The Infinite Intelligence, who presides over the nations, alone can fully comprehend and appreciate them. Think on these, my worthy and dear friend, in the light of Philosophy, of Holy Scripture, and of experience, as they shall bear upon those vast territories with their future, teeming millions, upon which the foot of slavery shall never be allowed to plant itself, and where all shall sit under their “own vine and fig-tree,” prosecuting their labors in the useful and the ornamental arts, and reaping the fruits of their free and honest industry—upon the South herself, when the present excitement of her leading politicians has passed away,—for a great portion of the most worthy of her citizens are with us in this movement,—and sober reason shall have resumed her throne; and they shall set themselves to rid slavery from their own borders, and shall find their Northern brethren ready to co-operate with them in every enlightened measure for their deliverance from the evil; and still beyond this, when, being free, their “wildernesses shall rejoice and blossom as the rose”—upon the Free North, in countless direct benefits to herself, and in her complacency and joy in the contemplation of the freedom and the happiness of the whole Republic, through her own firmness in the critical hour, and her well-directed patriotic efforts—upon the peace, and unity, and prosperity of our country at large, and the honor and reputation of our government, and of our citizens, both at home and abroad—upon the enemies of liberty throughout the world, to whom this great moral and peaceable revolution will be as the handwriting on the wall of Belshazzar, or as the roll of Ezekiel,

which "was written within and without, with weeping, and lamentations, and mourning, and woe"—upon the oppressed and patriotic opponents of tyranny and oppression in other lands, who shall "lift up their heads with joy, because the day of their own redemption" from political and religious thralldom, "draweth nigh"—upon the church of God in "every nation under heaven;" at home, by removing the most formidable obstacles to her prosperity and her purity, to her peace and her unity; and abroad, by terminating those earnest and truthful remonstrances, with their painful causes, which she has found it necessary to transmit across the Atlantic to her larger departments in this country, against their having any fellowship with the heinous sin of slavery; and by the fine field which it will lay open to her Missionary operations—upon the agricultural and mechanical departments of industry—upon internal and external trade and commerce—upon virtue, science, literature and Religion—upon the interests of all the coming ages of time—and upon the untold and unutterable concerns of eternity. Think on these things: for they are so fraught with the most important realities, that their full elucidation would fill a large volume. And anticipate with me the joyous day, when the swelling and majestic voice of the Atlantic shall be raised to the skies, to which the Pacific in adequate tones shall cordially respond; and the reverberations of their shores shall be taken up by the Alleghenies and the Rocky Mountains, and all the intervening hills and mountains, rivers and lakes: thus filling the continent with the loud acclaim, "VAN BUREN AND ADAMS—THE PATRIOTS OF THE NORTH—THE BUFFALO CONVENTION—THE YEAR EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-EIGHT—THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE HOME OF FREE SOIL, FREE LABOR, FREE MEN, AND FREE SPEECH—'ALLELUIA; FOR THE LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT REIGNETH.'"—and Liberty in other lands, catching the inspiration of the awakening and exulting shout, shall burst the cerements in which she has been there long enclosed; and give emancipation and enfranchisement to the WORLD. Verily, this is none other than the CAUSE OF GOD AND OF MAN. And, if spared to the day of election, I shall deposit my first vote FOR DEMOCRACY AGAINST DOULOCRACY. In this honor, my respected friend, I feel satisfied that you will be with me an equal sharer; and, therefore, I take pleasure in subscribing myself,

Yours, in the Best of Causes,

WILLIAM WILSON.

Cincinnati, September 12, 1848.

APPENDIX.

While the preceding Letter was in the press, a copy was received, (from an unknown friend,) dated September 16, 1848, of an excellent paper, entitled, "*The Campaign of Freedom*," published in the city of New-York, and conducted by some of the best minds of the age; from which the following extracts are taken, in order to fill, with useful matter, a vacant page, and because of the sound views which they so happily express, whose coincidence with, and confirmation of, the doctrines which I have advanced, will be obvious to every reader.

FREEDOM OR SLAVERY?

Which shall we have? Shall freedom be preserved in the territories, or shall it be struck down and slavery planted in its place? This is the one, clear, distinct and momentous question to be decided at the polls in November. We need not speak of its great and all-absorbing importance. The powerful and exciting debates which echoed through the Halls of the Capitol during nearly the whole of the last session of Congress—the mighty gathering and the high resolves of the freemen at Buffalo, and the agitation which now pervades the public mind from Maine to Texas—proclaim in language far stronger than any words we could use, that the Wilmot Proviso has ceased to be derided as a "humbug," and has risen up to overshadow all other subjects, to occupy the thoughts of all men, and to be considered as very deeply interwoven with the future prosperity and glory of our country.

Never within our recollection, and probably never since the foundation of the government, has there been an election when the question submitted to the people was so direct and plain, and so wholly unembarrassed by collateral issues as it is on this occasion. All the old issues which formerly divided the public mind have been, for the present at least, effectually disposed of. The political journals, the meetings of the people, and the addresses of distinguished politicians, are all occupied with this great and interesting question as to the extension of Human Slavery. It seems as if all obstruction had been providentially removed, to enable this question on account of its high and solemn import to take exclusive possession of the minds of men. For not only have all other subjects been disposed of, but things have so fallen out that neither of the old parties has a nomination which can be considered at all regular and binding, according to established usages. We have shown in a former number that the nomination of Cass was as grossly irregular and void as it was possible to make it. And no one, we presume, will seriously pretend that Taylor's nomination is binding on the Whig party until it can be ascertained by some means not yet devised, that he belongs to that party.

The electors of the whole country are therefore left unembarrassed to choose between the preservation of freedom and the extension and consequent perpetuation of slavery. And it appears to us that they can have no difficulty whatever in seeing which of the candidates represent the side of the question that they wish to favor. If they desire to see slavery extended they can give a direct vote for it by voting for either CASS or TAYLOR. If they are in favor of preserving freedom, they will of course vote for Mr. VAN BUREN.

The positions of the respective candidates appear to us as unequivocal as the position of the question itself.

We will begin with Gen. Cass. He has placed himself distinctly on record and stands effectually pledged to veto any bill for the preservation of freedom. The following passage from his Nicholson letter, which was written to secure his nomination, and which did secure it, is conclusive on this point. After going through with a lame apology for changing his mind to the Southern side of the question, he winds up as follows:

"Briefly, then, *I am opposed to the exercise of any jurisdiction by Congress over this matter; and I am in favor of leaving to the people of any territory which may be hereafter acquired, the right to regulate it for themselves, under the general principles of the Constitution.*

Because I do not see in the Constitution any grant of the requisite power to Congress; and I am not disposed to extend a doubtful precedent beyond its necessity—the establishment of territorial governments when needed—leaving the inhabitants all the rights compatible with the relations they bear to the confederation.

Because I believe this measure, if adopted, would weaken, if not impair, the Union of the States; and would sow the seeds of future discord, which would grow up and ripen into an abundant harvest of calamity."

It will be observed that he takes the ground expressly that it would be *unconstitutional to exclude Slavery*, and would produce a "harvest of calamity." Being sworn to protect and defend the Constitution, he could not, if he is honest, avoid vetoing such a bill. He is every day represented by his friends and the newspapers at the South, and among them, "the Washington Union," as being *pledged* to veto it. There would be no alternative between his doing so or being guilty of most shameful deception and falsehood. And when we consider that in all probability an act will

be passed in regard to California and New Mexico, containing the Willnot Proviso, like the Oregon bill, and that a veto would kill it, as it could not be passed by two-thirds, it is just and proper to say that every vote for Cass will be a direct vote in favor of the extension of Slavery. This result is undeniable and inevitable. No man can be at any loss about it. Every elector will vote for Cass if he wishes to see Freedom vetoed and Slavery extended; but not otherwise.

The position of Gen. Taylor can hardly be said to be any better. True, he has not been required, as Cass has, to sign, seal, and deliver a bond to the Slaveholders. But the only reason is, because they are willing to take him without a bond. Being a Southern man, a Planter, and a very large Slaveholder, with all the habits, interests and associations of other Slaveholders, he is considered by them as perfectly safe by a far better security than a mere bond. They who live around him and know him best, scout the idea that he would ever approve a bill for the preservation of Freedom in the Territories. Therefore, we repeat, all who wish to give a direct vote for Slavery extension, can do so by voting for either Cass or Taylor.

But the millions of honest freemen who regard Slavery as an unmitigated curse—who would feel themselves and their country disgraced by having it planted in the Territories which are now free from it, will turn their eyes to MARTIN VAN BUREN, whose flag is nailed to the mast, bearing on its folds the glorious principles of Freedom, in characters "clear as the sun." He has been drawn forth from his retirement as the chosen standard-bearer of the hosts of freemen, whose ranks are rapidly extending and advancing. However other leaders may equivocate, there is no evasion with him. His position is fully, clearly and distinctly defined. Every man who is for freedom will vote for him, knowing that by so doing his vote will be given in accordance with his judgment and his conscience. No former differences of opinion on other questions will have any influence upon candid minds, in a contest which is so emphatically for "Principles, not Men." It will not be for Mr. Van Buren merely, but for freedom and a limitation to the bounds of Human Slavery that we shall vote.

QUESTIONS FOR CASS AND TAYLOR MEN.

Has the United States government constitutional authority to make of any man a Slaveholder? The Slaveholder is the most absolute despot on the face of the earth; to his subjects his will is law; he claims their bodies and their souls as his property, depriving them of all their God-given rights, life only excepted. The blood which runs in their veins, the sinews which nerve their arms, the spirit of divinity which constitutes them beings in God's image, are all claimed as the chattels of him, in whose service they are doomed to unremunerated toil. By the Slaveholder's law, one man may exercise despotism over an unlimited number of his fellow-men. The principle now claimed by the Slaveholders, if established, would authorize a single despot to become the proprietor of all the land and all the people, in a territory of any extent, even to the whole of California, with millions of inhabitants. Startling as this proposition may seem, let one inquire, whether the idea of a single despot, governing three millions of bondmen, is more to be dreaded than two hundred and fifty thousand despots united in the exercise of oppression over the same number? Did the people of the United States, in forming a republican government, delegate a power to that government to constitute one portion of the people despots and another portion slaves? If Slaveholding is not despotism, I ask what is? In tolerating this system of despotism, in territory governed by the sovereignty of the American people, we admit the principle of the right of the strong to tyrannize over the weak; and in admitting this right, we repudiate the Declaration of our National Independence; and we give our sanction to a school of aristocracy which will eventually divide the inhabitants of our country into classes and castes, as the inhabitants of aristocratic Europe are divided, until a public sentiment shall spring up and become established, that the man who labors, whether as a chattel or a hired laborer, is but a degraded slave.

In a country where one-half the labor is performed by chattel slaves, who are deprived of every right which tyranny and oppression can deprive them of, the aristocratic sentiment and feeling must inevitably be nurtured to their greatest strength, and the political power will become concentrated in the aristocracy, and that portion of the laboring population who are not personal chattels, will sink down to the condition of the degraded caste, and the time will come when the paid laborer will be even more despised than the chattel slave.

The following is an extract from the celebrated opinion of *Thomas Jefferson*, on Slavery:

There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of Slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave, is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it, for man is an imitative animal. From his cradle to his grave, he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or self-love, in restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms—the child looks on—catches the lineaments of wrath—puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves—gives loose to the worst of passions—and thus nursed and educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities.